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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to show that economic and societal differences between the former Eastern and Western parts of Germany had produced differences in the timing of young people's school-to-work transitions. Data were collected from samples of approximately 350 participants from the West and 380 participants from the East conducted in 1991 and 1996. Participants were asked the ages at which vocational training was completed and financial support was achieved. The study found that the most common predictors of age of independence were choice of vocation and age of entry into elementary school. Choice of vocation mandated length of training, especially in the East, whereas age of entry into elementary school was consistent with length of schooling, but did not change the length of schooling across the board. Young people in the East became independent at slightly younger ages than did those in the West primarily because the avenues of vocational training were more standardized. This difference was fading in 1996, after 5 years of independence for the East. Individual variables also played a large part in students' achievement of independence, especially in the West, with things such as life-threatening accidents, family break-up, and parents' attitudes toward education influencing length of vocational training and age of entry into the work force (financial independence). (Contains 22 references.) (KC)

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The Role of Individual Variability and Institutional Structure in the Timing of the School-to-Work Transition in East and West Germany

ED 420 793

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The transition into paid work is a major step on the way to adulthood because financial self-support forms an important prerequisite for other adulthood transitions such as getting married or having children (Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1998, February). Whether the achievement of financial self-support or the completion of vocational training happens early or late is governed by a multitude of cultural, macro-economic, institutional and individual factors. Insofar, the timing of early occupational careers represents a prototype of developmental phenomena which can be best understood as a result of complex person-environment interactions (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1986). The timetables for the sequence of transitional events preceding paid work differ between countries and cultures (Behrens, Brown & Hurrelmann, 1992). Important factors influencing the timetables are, for example, the number of school years required for different educational tracks, the permeability between school tracks, the variety of training programs, apprenticeships, and options for unskilled work. Within a given scenario of macro-contextual factors, however, individuals steer timing and pace of their school-to-work transition by planning, exploring, deciding, or even by shifting between educational options. The more opportunities and options a country or a national economy provides, the greater will be the variability in timing of the school-to-work transition. Individual differences in timing will, however, not only be governed by structural givens, e.g., the variety of opportunities, but will also relate to individual or biographical factors.

In the present study, we want to show that economic and societal differences between the former Eastern and Western parts of Germany had produced differences in the timing of young people's school-to-work transitions. With the comparisons between East and West, we aimed at differences which are known as "positioning effects" and "patterning effects" in cross-cultural psychology (Leung & Bond, 1989). In our case, positioning effects refer to East-West differences in the average age at which major transitional steps such as the completion of vocational training and financial independence were accomplished. Additionally, we extended the notion of positioning

effects to differences in the variability of timing concerning these transitions. The term "patterning effects" refers to our expectation that different predictive patterns would account for the timing of these career transitions with a higher likelihood of individual and family factors predicting timing in the less institutionalized and less standardized Western context.

Pre-unification differences were covered in our study by asking young adults retrospectively in 1991 about central steps of their school-to-work transition prior to the survey which also means prior to unification. Five years later, the same questions were addressed at a new cross-sectional sample of young adults representing subsequent birth cohorts who had in part completed their school education and vocational training under the changed conditions of the unified Germany.

For our study of timing issues in career development, we focused on samples of young people from vocationally oriented school tracks in the West (Realschule) and the East (Polytechnikum), because they were homogenous with regard to years of schooling (10 years) and school degree (a medium level degree after 10th grade). By holding the school type constant, we eliminated a priori differences in timing schedules, e.g., between non-academic and academic school tracks.

Opportunities and constraints for attendants of Realschule in the West and Polytechnikum in the East, clearly differed. In the East, adolescents usually picked one out of 238 occupations, most of which required a two-year training (Berger, 1995). In contrast to Western Germany, the vast majority (almost 80%, Berger, 1995, p. 36) of these occupations were related to production, only 20% were in the domains of trade and services (48% in Western Germany). The domination of production-related occupations, e.g. in agriculture or metal work, reflected the demands of the plan economy, but not the interests and choices of the students (Autsch, 1995). Some of the apprenticeships offered a high school degree if they were extended to three years. However, this was obviously not quite common given that only 15% of the adolescent population completed

college-bound tracks (Fischer, 1992) as compared to more than 30% in the West (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1992).

In the West, a variety of different options existed after completion of 10th grade. In the past, the most common pathway to paid work was a two- or three-year apprenticeship. Over the recent decades, however, a lot more options and educational patterns have emerged, partly due to an increasing differentiation of the economy (Vondracek & Reitzle, in press), partly due to a notorious shortcut in apprenticeship positions (Raab, 1997).

Against this backdrop of the Eastern and Western contexts, we expected the following East-West differences with regard to timing issues in the school-to-work transition: Our first hypothesis was that Westerners completed vocational training and accomplished financial self-support later than their Eastern agemates, because the less conventional pathways and patterns in the West should, on average, be more time-consuming than the standard two-year apprenticeship in the East. Second, due to the high degree of standardization of training programs in the East in contrast to a variety of options in the West, we expected a greater variability in the transitions of young Westerners. Our third hypothesis was concerned with the prediction of individual differences in these transitions. For the Eastern context, we assumed that the sequence of events in the school-to-work transition would follow a tight schedule. This means, knowing the age at completion of school should give a rather precise estimate for the age at completion of training. Furthermore, in our previous study (Reitzle, et al., 1998) age at completion of school proved to be a mere function of the age at entry into elementary school in the East. The close relationship between these two timing markers was attributed to the fact that hardly any delaying events, not even repeating a class, occurred in the East. In the same vein, the timing of financial self-support should be best predicted by the preceding age at completion of school in the East, because extraordinary circumstances such as unemployment after an apprenticeship were not very likely in the East. In the West, however, we expected that individual and family factors would contribute substantially to the prediction of the

two transitions. Based on the findings of our previous study, we focused on the transfer of cultural capital (Coleman, 1994) from parents to children, respondents' speed of biological and psychological maturation during adolescence, and severe life-events as potential predictors for the transitions.

If all the differences in timing, be it with regard to average levels, variability or different predictive patterns actually reflected distinctive characteristics of the formerly two social and political systems, they should turn out smaller five years later, at the time of the second survey.

METHOD

Sample

The samples were selected from a national study of adolescents and young adults conducted in a newly unified Germany in 1991 (Jugendwerk der Deutschen Shell, 1992), and repeated in 1996. Details of the sampling procedure, the composition of the entire Eastern and Western samples, and the rationale of excluding respondents with either missing or inconsistent data are documented elsewhere (Reitzle et al., 1998). The final 1991 sample of non-college/university-bound young adults used in this study was comprised of 355 participants from the West (203 females and 152 males) and 389 participants from the East (194 females and 195 males) with a mean age of 24.3 years (SD 2.8 Years). In 1996, a comparable cross-section of young adults were interviewed regarding their transitions. The final sample used in this study included 196 participants from the West (78 males and 118 females) and 376 respondents from the East (168 males and 208 females) with a mean age of 25.3 years (SD 2.8 years).

Measures

Timing of Transitions. The ages at which vocational training was completed and at which financial self-support was achieved were retrospectively asked. The questions were introduced in the following way: "In the course of our lives, some events occur that change us and our lives.... If you have already experienced it [a specific event], how old were you at the time?" The events in

question for the present study were stated as follows: Finishing vocational/occupational training [Age at Completion of Training]; Earning enough money to be self-supporting [Timing of Financial Self-support].

Predictors of the Timing of School-to-Work Transitions. The timing of the two criterion events Completion of Training and Timing of Financial Self-support were supposed to be connected to the timing of preceding education-related events such as completion of school [Age at completion of school]. In order to test the impact of individual factors over and above these institutionally coined timing markers, one has to control for the latter. Besides the age at completion of school, there was a further antecedent time marker included, namely, "Knowing for the first time what you wanted to do occupationally" [Timing of Initial Vocational Choice]. Although the age at first vocational choices appear to be an individual characteristic rather than an institutional given, it is closely linked to the age at completion of school in the Western sample (Reitzle, et al., 1998). Family context during childhood: The educational level of parents was used as one indicator to describe the family context. In complete families we used father's education, whereas mother's education was taken in the case of single mothers. In addition, all participants were given statements describing parental behaviors during the time when they were 6-12 years old, and they were asked to rate the degree to which they applied to them on a four-point scale (4=applies fully). Based on Bourdieu's (1986) work, the items were formulated to represent key behaviors in the transmission of cultural capital. Two scales were administered in both surveys in 1991 and 1996, namely School Involvement (4 items, e.g., "In my family, my grades were taken very seriously"; alpha 1991: .71; 1996: .68); Joint Cultural Activities (4 items, e.g., "My father/mother had hobbies in which I participated as a child"; alpha 1991: .64; 1996: .80). Maturation During Adolescence: Participants were asked to recall: Age at Menarche (females); Age at Breaking of Voice (males) and the Rate of Physical Maturation at Age 13/14 relative to peers. Usually, women recall their age at menarche rather precisely, even when asked many years later (Kracke & Silbereisen, 1994). Adoption of

Adult Life Style: To complement the above indicators of physical maturation, an index of whether an adult life-style was adopted early or late was constructed using the age at which participants reported "going steady" for the first time, and engaging in adult patterns of drinking for the first time. Low scorers were those who were below the median age for their respective group (with participants divided by region and sex) on both items, and they were identified as "early" in their adoption of an adult life style (score=0). High scorers were those who were above the median for both items, and they were identified as "late" in their adoption of an adult life-style (score=2). Subjects below the median age on only one of the two items were assigned a score of 1. Life-Events Before Age 17: Participants were asked to recollect whether the following events had occurred in their lives prior to their 17th birthday, i.e., by the time they had finished school: Family Relocation; Separation of Parents; Death of a Parent. In both surveys, there were more severe life-events asked which, however, had extremely low prevalences such as Unemployment of a Parent in the former East that we decided to exclude them from the analyses.

Data Analytic Procedures

In order to test our hypotheses that the Eastern and Western contexts initially (1991) made a difference in terms of positioning as well as patterning effects with regard to the timing of major events in the school-to-work transition, we pursued the following analytical strategy: Regarding positioning effects, we first determined the median ages at which Easterners and Westerners completed their vocational training and achieved financial self-support from retrospective reports given in 1991 and 1996, using survival analyses (SPSS Survival, see Norusis, 1994). Survival analyses allowed for the inclusion of so-called censored cases, i.e., cases for which the event of interest had not yet occurred. Omitting these censored cases usually leads to downward biased estimates of the timing of the event. Given the age range of our samples (20 to 29 years), however, there were not too many censored cases involved. To test for East-West differences in the timing of the two events, we additionally analyzed Cox Regressions (SPSS Cox Regression, Norusis, 1994)

using the dummy variable Region (West=0, East=1) as predictor. Cox regression is similar to ordinary regression models, but offers the possibility to predict censored timing variables by categorical and/or continuous predictors (Willett & Singer, 1991; Yamaguchi, 1991). The regression coefficients from this type of analysis, called "risk ratios", indicate by which factor the hazard rate is increased (or decreased) as a result of a one unit change in the predictor variable at any given time (for a more detailed definition see Yamaguchi, 1991). Risk ratios greater than one indicate that the hazard ratio is increased, which means that the timing is accelerated, those smaller than one indicate a delaying effect.

Regarding our assumption that East-West differences would decrease between 1991 and 1996, we expected an interaction effect of Region and Year, technically speaking. Because the coefficients of interaction terms from Cox regressions are difficult to interpret, we alternatively used conventional analyses of variance to test for an interaction. For the ANOVAs, we could include non-censored cases only, of course. Omitting the very few censored cases, however, should not lead to completely wrong conclusions. The hypothesized differences in the variability of timing were tested via Levene tests for homogeneity of variances.

The so-called patterning effects, i.e., the East-West differences in predictive patterns were addressed with Cox Regressions. For the prediction of transitions in 1991 and 1996, we first entered gender and community size as control variables into the equation in order to adjust for unintended differences in the 1991 and 1996 samples (Presentation Figure 1).

Presentation Figure 1

After the control variables, stepwise inclusion of preceding educational events such as completion of school (institutional), first vocational choices (individual) and the remaining individual predictors from the domains family, maturation, and life-events was chosen. We were aware of the fact that

our selection of individual predictors does not represent all potentially relevant variables from those three domains. In addition, some of the indicators used in our previous study were only included in the 1991, but not in the 1996 survey. Hence, aiming at a complete replication of our former results, was impossible from the very beginning. Consequently, we combined the more exploratory strategy of stepwise inclusion with a rather general hypothesis concerning the 1991 data, i.e., we claimed that indicators form the individual or biographical domain would substantially add to the prediction of transitions in the West, but not in the East. For 1996, we predicted that Easterners' timing of transitions should also be affected by individual characteristics.

RESULTS

Positioning effects

As hypothesized, Easterners' and Westerners' median ages for completion of training and achievement of financial self-support differed by roughly one year in 1991. (Presentation Figure 2).

Presentation Figure 2

Completion of vocational training. Easterners completed, on average, their occupational training below age 19, whereas the corresponding Western median age was slightly above 20 years. In 1996, the differences between East and West were smaller due to the fact that Easterners were now above 19 when they finished training, whereas the median ages remained almost the same in the West. Significance tests for the differences in timing were provided by Cox regressions with the predictor Region. In 1991, Easterners had an almost 2.5 times higher hazard rate of having completed training at any given age (Males' Exp(B) = 2.46, $p < .001$; Females' Exp(B) = 2.43, $p < .001$). Using the 1996 data, we still found significant differences (Males' Exp(B) = 1.58, $p < .01$; Females' Exp(B) = 1.53, $p < .001$). They were, however, considerably smaller with Easterners' hazard rate now being only 1.5 times the hazard rate of Westerners.

Financial self-support. In 1991, Easterners achieved financial self-support at age 19, whereas Westerners financial independence occurred at almost age 20 (Presentation Figure 3).

Presentation Figure 3

Expressed in the language of Cox Regressions, this meant, that Easterners had a 1.6 times higher "risk" of achieving financial self-support at any given age (Males' Exp(B) = 1.66, $p < .001$; Females' Exp(B) = 1.54, $p < .001$). Five years later, median ages were rather similar in East and West due to the fact that Easterners' transition into financial independence occurred markedly later (Females: 19.71; Males: 19.79) than in 1991. The Cox regressions confirmed the impression of greater similarity in the timing of financial self-support, because the coefficients were not significant (Males' Exp(B) = 1.10, n.s.; Females' Exp(B) = 1.16, n.s.).

The two-way ANOVAs with factors Region and Year confirmed our assumption of decreasing differences over time. There were significant interaction effects of Region and Year with regard to both transitions (Completion of Training: $F_{1,1251} = 10.37$, $p < .001$; Timing of Financial Self-support: $F_{1,1205} = 7.48$, $p < .01$). The changes in the means left no doubt that Easterners approximated the timing schedules of their Western counterparts (Presentation Figures 4 and 5).

Presentation Figures 4 and 5

Variability of transitions. In 1991, there were considerable East-West differences in the variability regarding the age at completion of training which was reflected by a Levene statistic of 78.8 (df = 1, $p < .001$) (Presentation Figure 6).

Presentation Figure 6

Whereas an almost symmetric age distribution ranging from age 17 to age 23 applied in the West, ninety percent of the Eastern young adults had completed school at either age 18 (60%) or age 19 (30%). Additionally, censored cases were almost nonexistent in the East. A similar picture emerged with respect to the timing of financial independence (Presentation Figure 7)

Presentation Figure 7

Again, the test for homogeneity of variances was significant at the .001 level (Levene statistic with 1 df = 57.0). In the East, financial self-support was mostly achieved at either age 18 or age 19, whereas the corresponding ages ranged from below 17 to 23 in the West.

In 1996, the Eastern and Western age distributions of both transitions showed a greater similarity (Presentation Figures 8 and 9).

Presentation Figures 8 and 9

Although the tests of homogeneity of variances for both transitions were still significant, the Levene statistics as well as the corresponding significance levels were markedly attenuated (Completion of Training: 9.8, $p < .01$; Timing of Financial Self-support: 10.0, $p < .01$). In sum, the increased similarity between East and West which could be observed for mean (median) ages also applied to the variability of the two transitions.

Patterning effects

In the Cox regressions of 1991 data, we found only one significant predictor for both transitions among Eastern young people, namely their age at completion of school. The older Easterners were when they left school, the later they finished their vocational training (risk ratio .63), and the later they became financially independent (.81). Over and beyond this institutional time marker, no variable from the individual domain contributed significantly to the prediction of the transitions. As far as financial self-support was concerned, the same applied to Westerners (.76). Completion of vocational training, however, was predicted by respondents' age at completion of school (.61), by the timing of initial vocational choices (.94), and by the occurrence of severe life-events before age 17 such as relocation (.72) and separation of parents (.65). As indicated by the coefficients which were all smaller than one, higher scores on the predictors were related to later completion of vocational training.

In the Western sample of 1996, financial self-support was again only related to age at completion of school (.82). Completion of vocational training, however, was predicted by completion of school and a further individual variable, namely the speed of maturation during adolescence (.78). The slower respondents felt they had been maturing during adolescence, the later they completed their vocational training. As we had expected for the 1996 survey, individual variables actually improved the prediction of the two transitions in the East, too. Higher levels of parental school involvement during adolescence corresponded to later completion of vocational training (.77) and to later financial self-support (.81).

DISCUSSION

In the present study, we found confirmed that context creates a difference in the timing schedules of major steps in the school-to-work transition. Taking the Eastern and Western pre-unification contexts as examples for an individualistic society with a market economy versus a

highly planned and state-ruled society, we found some evidence that the contextual differences were related to differences in average levels, variability, and determinants of transitions.

(a) Freedom of choice and variety of options cause, on average, a certain amount of delay with regard vocational training and financial self-support. Eastern young adults' lead was not achieved by virtue of a faster individual pace, but resulted mainly from a standardized educational pathway with 10 years of schooling plus two years of vocational training which applied to the vast majority of Eastern young people.

(b) Moreover, we could demonstrate that variety in the West versus uniformity in the East was a key issue in the timing of transitions. Westerners' average "delay" resulted from the fact that a greater number of young people completed training and/or achieved financial independence in their twenties. Most probably, this was often related to individuals' choice of a sophisticated, and hence time-consuming, training program (Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1998, February). Postponing insignia of adulthood such as financial independence, marriage and parenthood for the sake of accumulating education and thereby avoiding unemployment is highly functional in a modern free market economy, but did not bear any merits in the context of former East Germany. On the contrary, the socialist system rewarded an early commitment to adult roles as a productive worker (Resetka, 1997), spouse and parent (Schlemmer, 1992).

(c) Directly related to the issue of variety versus uniformity was our finding that in the standardized Eastern context, individual variables could not predict the timing of transitions in 1991. The structural time marker "Age at completion of school" was the only substantial predictor. Because age at completion of school proved a mere function of the age at entry into elementary school (Reitzle et al., 1998) which occurred either at age 6 or 7, a larger portion of the scarce variability observed for completion of training and financial self-support in the East dated presumably back to the earliest step in the school-to-work transition.

As expected, East-West differences in the average ages and the variability of transitions faded out five years later. Because this mainly occurred due to Easterners' changing toward Western patterns, the greater similarity in the timing of central events in the school-to-work transition can be considered a result of social change in the course of unification. In 1996, completion of vocational

training as well as becoming financially independent became related to individual factors in the East, too. The more parents had engaged in school matters, the later their offspring underwent the two transitions in question. One may speculate that parents who cared for the academic achievement of their adolescent offspring, promoted a better and more time-consuming vocational training. This interpretation would fit into the Western scenario with an accumulation of education serving as a means against unemployment. Most of the Eastern sample aged 20 to 29 years in 1996, however, experienced their adolescence in the former GDR, where full-time employment was guaranteed irrespective of qualification levels. A possible solution to this puzzle could be that there were harbingers of social change in the East before unification. In the scenario of a descending socialist economy, parents who took actively part in the academic achievement of their children might have become increasingly aware of the necessity of a profound education.

Although our findings confirmed our basic assumption that context makes a difference for the timing of the school-to-work transition, it remained somewhat disappointing that transitions were not better predicted by individual biographies variables, not even in the West. There may be several reasons for this. First of all, the main reason may be that we could rely only on a very limited selection of potential predictors. In addition, it seems noteworthy to mention that predictors as well as the ages at which transitions occurred were retrospectively collected. Only meaningful life-events are usually recalled with a high degree of accuracy, but this is not necessarily the case with subjective judgments (Brewin, Andrews, & Gotlib, 1993). Hence, we had probably variables of rather different reliability in the same equation. The only way to bypass this caveat would be the use of prospective longitudinal istead of retrospective data.

Second, timing of financial self-support, and even more so, the age at completion of training within a homogeneous educational track is highly determined by several fixed time markers such as the age at entry into elementary school or the duration of a particular apprenticeship (2, 3 or 4 years in the Western German system). Following this line of reasoning, the observed age variability reflects to a certain extent the availability of more or less time-consuming educational options after 10th grade, especially in the Western context. Above and beyond these structural characteristics accounting for variability in timing, there are certainly quite individual reasons for being early or

late. For example, a long medical treatment in a hospital after a motorcycle accident can cause delay for one person, inheriting a big amount of money may accelerate financial self-support of another person. There are numerous other examples for unique features of individual biographies. Because each of them represents an extremely rare event, they can hardly be implemented in a systematic prediction. They are unique variance in a literal sense.

The more or less time-consuming educational options mentioned before, however, are also linked to individual characteristics because they require individual decisions. These decisions for either a simple or a sophisticated training influence timing indirectly. In a former study (Reitzle & Silbereisen, 1998, February), we found some evidence that early versus late achievement of financial self-support was related to different qualification levels. Timing, however, is only an imperfect proxy for different qualification levels, and leaves room for considerable ambiguity. Becoming financially independent at age 21, for instance, can result from a four-year apprenticeship in banking, but as well from a two-year apprenticeship plus one year of unemployment followed by a one-year participation in a remedial scheme. These different biographical sketches resulting in the same timing illustrate that timing should be complemented with information about career patterns, at least, if transitions with a high degree of institutional determination are at issue. However, our previous research on some transitional events which are far less institutionalized as is the completion of vocational training, namely the age at initial vocational choices (Silbereisen, Vondracek, & Berg, 1997) or the age at leaving the parental home (Silbereisen, Meschke, & Schwarz, 1996) revealed closer relationships between the timing of transitions and various individual and family factors including life-events, parental behaviors, leisure preferences, and identity development.

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PREDICTOR POOL
FOR TIMING OF TRANSITIONS

CONTROL VARIABLES

Gender

Community size (dummy-coded)

EDUCATION-RELATED EVENTS

Completion of school

Initial vocational choices

FAMILY CONTEXT DURING CHILDHOOD

Educational level of parents

Parents' school involvement

Joint cultural activities

MATURATION DURING ADOLESCENCE

Age at menarche (girls), breaking of voice (boys)

Speed of maturation at age 13/14 (high = slower than others)

Adoption of adult lifestyle (high = late)

LIFE EVENTS BEFORE AGE 17

Relocation

Separation of parents

Death of a parent

Figure 2

Completion of Vocational Training

Median Ages Derived from Survival Analysis

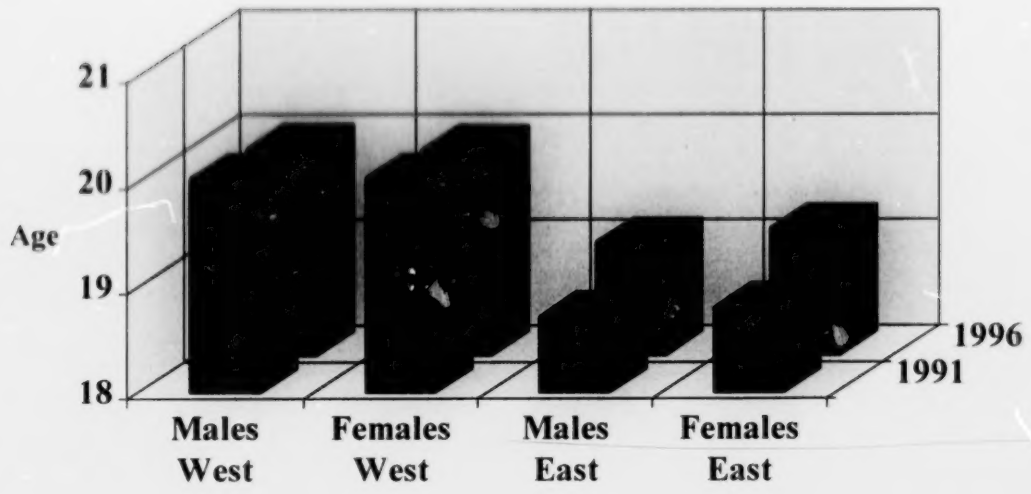


Figure 3

Financial Self-support

Median Ages Derived from Survival Analysis

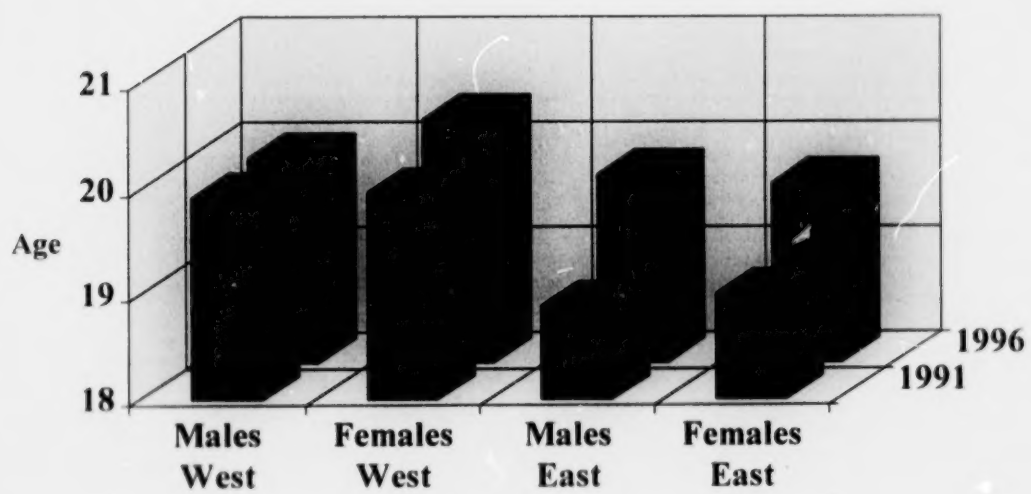
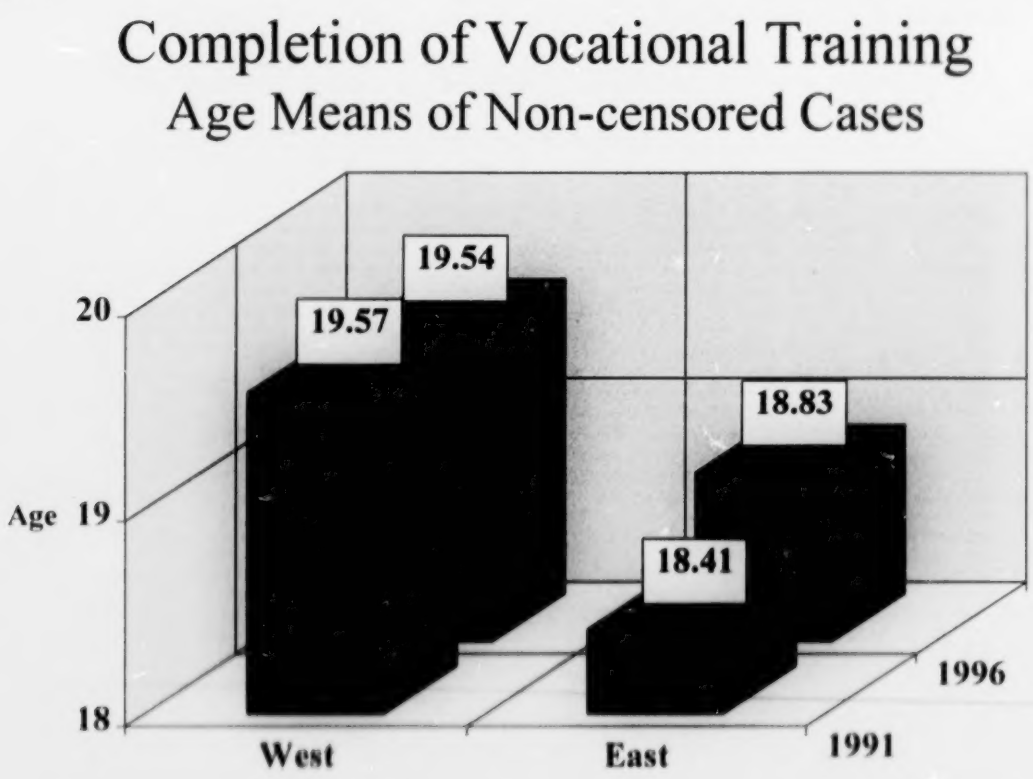
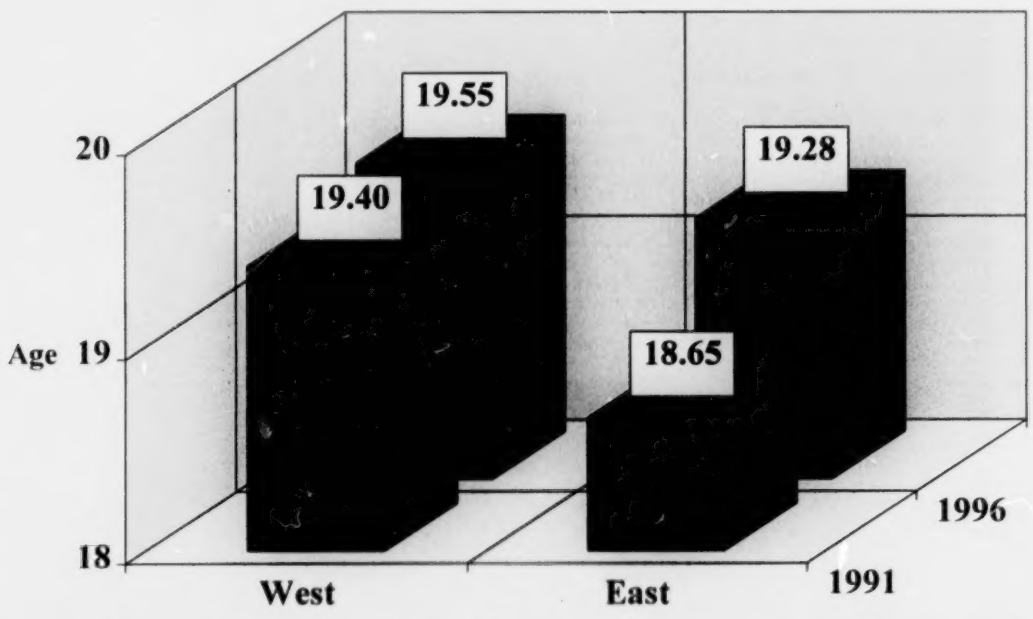


Figure 4



Effects: Region < .001, Year < .001, Interaction < .01

Figure 5

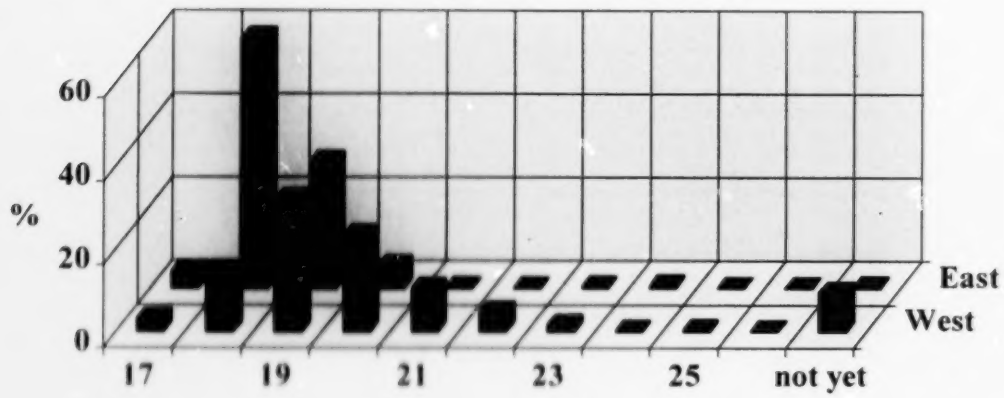


Effects: Region < .001, Year < .001, Interaction < .01

Figure 6

Completion of Vocational Training

Age Variability in East and West (1991)

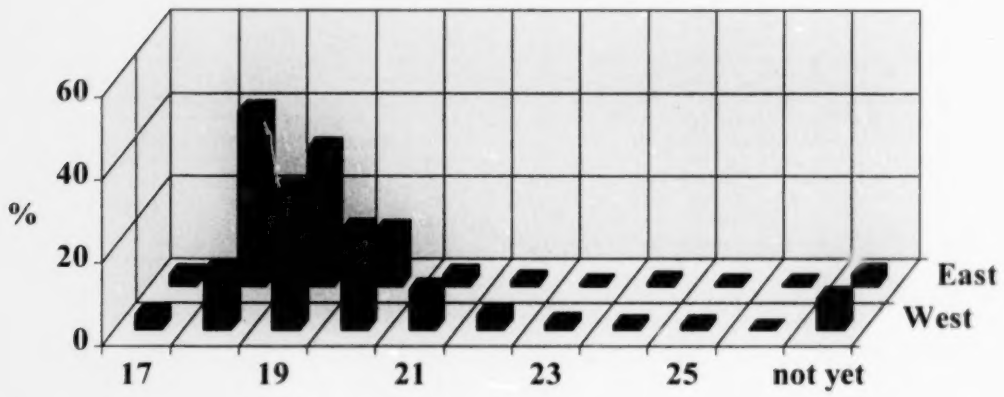


SD (East) = .79, SD (West) = 1.39
Homogeneity of Variances (Levene): 78.8, $p < .001$

Figure 7

Completion of Vocational Training

Age Variability in East and West (1996)

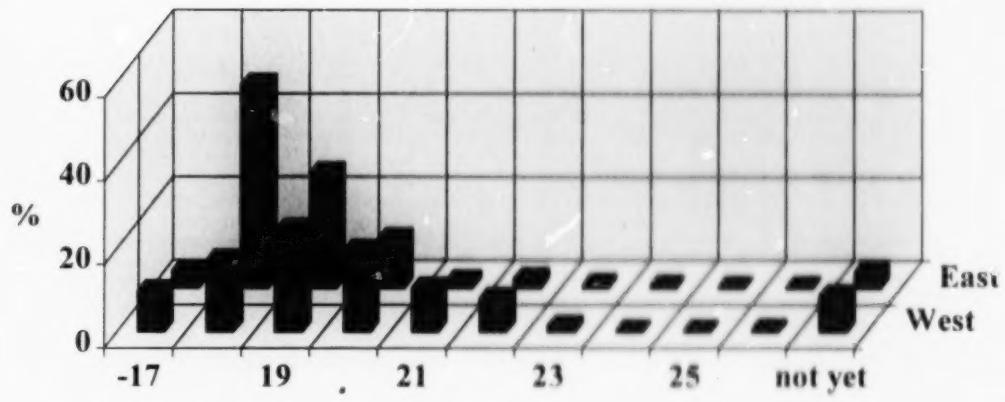


SD (East) = 1.17, SD (West) = 1.41
Homogeneity of Variances (Levene): 9.8, $p < .01$

Figure 8

Financial Self-support

Age Variability in East and West (1991)

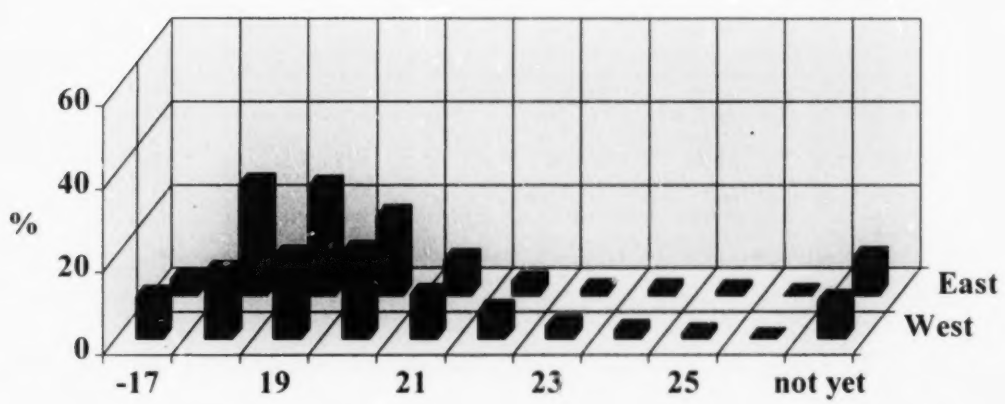


SD (East) = 1.07, SD (West) = 1.68
Homogeneity of Variances (Levene): 57.0, $p < .001$

Figure 9

Financial Self-support

Age Variability in East and West (1996)



SD (East) = 1.53, SD (West) = 1.87
Homogeneity of Variances (Levene): 10.0, $p < .01$

Figure 10

COX REGRESSIONS: 1991 RISK RATIOS

COMPLETION OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

	WEST	EAST
Completion of school	.61 ***	.63 ***
Initial vocational choices	.94 **	
Relocation	.72 **	
Separation of parents	.65 ***	

FINANCIAL SELF-SUPPORT

	WEST	EAST
Completion of school	.76 ***	.81 *

COX REGRESSIONS: 1996 RISK RATIOS

COMPLETION OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

	WEST	EAST
Completion of school	.65 ***	.73 ***
Speed of maturation at age 13/14	.78 *	
Parents' school involvement		.77 ***

FINANCIAL SELF-SUPPORT

	WEST	EAST
Completion of school	.82 **	
Parents' school involvement		.81 *